PEACE, RECONCILIATION AND SOCIAL JUSTICE LEADERSHIP IN THE 21ST CENTURY

In all my years as a public servant, I have always looked for guideposts to help me better understand a fractured world. This outstanding interdisciplinary volume provides an excellent roadmap to piece together the mosaic of peace, reconciliation, and social justice not just from a leader's perspective, but from the voices and actions of followers. This book forms an essential praxis through the lens of gender, diversity, spirituality, inclusiveness to better deal with global restoration of a more beloved community.

Ambassador Eric M. Bost (Ret), Former US Ambassador to the Republic of South Africa, Deputy Director of the Borlaug Institute for International Agriculture and Development at Texas A&M University

In this ambitious interdisciplinary volume, the authors seek to understand the concept of peace and reconciliation through leadership and followership theories and practice from the current generation's perspective in the midst of today's turbulent and unsettling times. The immediate need for this global analysis of peace and reconciliation from a trans-disciplinary lens is crucial. The authors of this volume provide a solution through the concept of decolonization by first giving a voice to those most impacted by conflict and then by listening to those voices in order to bring about social justice.

Raida Gatten, Associate VP of Academic Affairs, Woodbury University

At a time when the global order founded by liberal democracies is in retreat, beset by authoritarian rivals on one side and failing states on the other, academia might be ready for the tonic of a "peace and conflict studies" approach to the study of leadership — leading to an understanding of the moral, spiritual, and political roles of leaders in healing a divided society. This book lays the groundwork.

Michael Woo, Dean, College of Environmental Design, California State Polytechnic University, Pomona Social oppression, civil war, and state genocide are often a direct product of leadership failures, but recovery from them can be facilitated by other leaders and even followers who appreciate and exercise the powers of truth telling, community reconciliation, and national rebuilding. H. Eric Schockman, Vanessa Alexandra Hernández Soto, and Aldo Boitano de Moras have gathered a host of penetrating and informative accounts of just that in Peace, Reconciliation, and Social Justice in the 21st Century, which serves as both an inspiration and a roadmap for those whose wish to apply their own leadership to recovering and coming back from human calamities.

Michael Useem, Professor of Management, Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania, and the author of Leadership Dispatches: Chile's Extraordinary Comeback from Disaster.

An excellent view of the study of leadership and a just world order, the book provides a trans-disciplinary approach to issues of equity, inclusion, and trust. The building of sustainable peace is basic to the text as each chapter examines the themes of reconciliation, community building, international law, and social justice. This book is important and I give it my highest recommendation.

Dr June Schmieder-Ramirez, Chair, PhD in "Global Leadership and Change Chair of Leadership Studies," Pepperdine University

PEACE, RECONCILIATION AND SOCIAL JUSTICE LEADERSHIP IN THE 21ST CENTURY: THE ROLE OF LEADERS AND FOLLOWERS

Edited by

H. ERIC SCHOCKMAN Woodbury University, USA

VANESSA ALEXANDRA HERNÁNDEZ SOTO United Nations Human Rights, Geneva, Switzerland

and

ALDO BOITANO DE MORAS

International Leadership Association, Chile



Emerald Publishing Limited Howard House, Wagon Lane, Bingley BD16 1WA, UK

First edition 2019

Copyright © 2019 Emerald Publishing Limited

Reprints and permissions service

Contact: permissions@emeraldinsight.com

No part of this book may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, transmitted in any form or by any means electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise without either the prior written permission of the publisher or a licence permitting restricted copying issued in the UK by The Copyright Licensing Agency and in the USA by The Copyright Clearance Center. Any opinions expressed in the chapters are those of the authors. Whilst Emerald makes every effort to ensure the quality and accuracy of its content, Emerald makes no representation implied or otherwise, as to the chapters' suitability and application and disclaims any warranties, express or implied, to their use.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN: 978-1-83867-196-9 (Print) ISBN: 978-1-83867-193-8 (Online) ISBN: 978-1-83867-195-2 (EPub)

ISSN: 2058-8801 (Series)



ISOQAR certified Management System, awarded to Emerald for adherence to Environmental standard ISO 14001:2004.

Certificate Number 1985 ISO 14001



INVESTOR IN PEOPLE

We dedicate this volu survivors of mass atroc	vorld. Your cout	

vii

ACKNOWIFDGMENTS

This endeavor has been a labor-of-love from the start and we were blessed by the amazing synergies of efforts of many individuals who provided unconditional support.

The editors owe a huge debt of eternal gratitude to Debra DeRuyver, Communications Director of the International Leadership Association (ILA). Debra is really the backbone for ILA/Emerald publications and she was with us every step of the way – offering advice and critique and overall was the consummate professional cheerleader for the editorial team. We also wish to thank the staff at ILA for their unflinching support and faith in our work. Megan Scribner also worked closely with us and kept us on task. Kudos go out in particular to Cynthia Cherry, CEO; Shelly Wisley, COO; and Bridget Chisholm, Director of Conferences. They and the rest of the ILA staff, interns, and volunteers were the cementing blocks and foundation that enabled us to construct the architecture of this book. An additional shoutout goes to Charlotte (Charlie) Wilson of Emerald Publishing for all her support and encouragement.

The editors wish to thank our readers who are leading every day by example in fighting discrimination, inequality, and hatred in their respective multiple arenas. We want you to know you are not alone. We also wish to recognize and relish the diligent efforts from those authors who have contributed chapters to this volume. We have collectively learned much from each author and it was a sheer joy to work together to produce this endeavor. We thank the authors for their openness, pushing the inter-disciplinary boundaries to purse intellectual rigor and truth-telling. Taken together, we hope that in our small way that we have moved the 'arch of moral justice' bending it toward some categorical imperative when justice, brotherhood, and sisterhood will deliver us to the promised land of peace.

Additionally, Vanessa would like to thank her grandparents whose sacrifices, courage, and unconditional love inspired her to become an advocate

Acknowledgments

Χ

for justice and human rights. Vanessa is also deeply grateful for the support of her colleagues and friends for their generous insights and wisdom. Aldo would like to thank his colleagues and co-editors for their incredible hard work and thank ILA for their support for allowing him to be part of this second book volume of Building Leadership Bridges. Aldo especially wants to thank his family for giving him time for this important project and in particular his wife Claudia and his son Matteo. Eric would like to thank his coeditors Vanessa and Aldo for providing the intellectual comradeship that bonded them forever. Eric would also like to thank his distinguished colleagues: Will McConnell, Douglas Cremer, Randy Stauffer, Richard Matzen, Reuben Ellis, Raida Gatten, Matthew Bridgewater, Ofelia Huidor, Elizabeth "Lisa" Cooper, Seta Javor, Matthew Cahn, Henrik Palasani-Minassians, Mylon Winn, June Schmieder, Seta Khajarian, Farzin Madjidi, Kerri Crissna-Heath, Christie Dailo, Scott Beckett, Cody Thompson, Eric Bost, Frederick D. Barton, Satinder Dhiman, Michael K. Woo, Linda Daly, Scott Sveslovsky, Leslie Thurman, Edwina Pio, Jason Miklian, Rebecca Marsh, and finally Eric's family and loved ones: Marlene Noonan, Steven Henry Crithfield, Michael Brett Mason, Deborah Lamberton, Valerie Crithfield, James Pinnick, and his chocolate lab Brixton, who served as his comfort writing partner always at his side.

CONTENTS

Dedi	cations	vi
Ackn	nowledgments	i×
Abou	ut the Contributors	XV
	word umbassador Rick Barton	xxiii
Intro	oduction: On Peace, Reconciliation, and Social Justice H. Eric Schockman, Vanessa Alexandra Hernández Soto and Aldo Boitano de Moras	1
	PART I: RECONCILIATION	
1.	Leading and Following for Transformation in a Racialized Society Ira Chaleff	11
2.	The Role of Work with Psychological Traumatization and Self-help in Peacebuilding and Reconciliation Charles David Tauber and Sandra Marić	23
3.	Mercy, Justice, and Reconciliation: Pope Francis, Inclusive Leadership, and the Roman Catholic Church Douglas Cremer	37
4.	Uses of a Holding Environment as Container for Stepping Up and Stepping Back in the Context of Truth and Reconciliation Sarah Chase	10

xii Contents

PART II: COMMUNITY BUILDING: TO MAKE, BUILD, AND MAINTAIN PEACE

5.	Second-generation Perspectives on Reconciliation after Genocide: A Case Study of Rwanda	
	Chantal Marie Ingabire and Annemiek Richters	67
6.	Research Leader—Follower Development for Peacebuilding and Social Justice: The Africa Young Graduate Scholars Development Program Sylvester B. Maphosa and Alphonse Keasley	81
7.	Women Can Make a Difference in Economic Marginalization and Women's Right to Equality in Post-conflict Context of Sri Lanka: Revival of Challenges and a Perspective beyond the UNRSC 1325 Ziyana Mohamed Nazeemudeen	99
8.	Economically Empowering Women as Sustainable Conflict Resolution: A Case Study on Building Peace in Uganda through Social Enterprise Lisa Liberatore Maracine	11 <i>7</i>
	lude: The Geneva Leadership Alliance: Learning to Lead (and ow) in Peacebuilding and Social Justice Patrick Sweet	131
	PART III: INTERNATIONAL LAW AND SOCIAL JUSTICE	
9.	Women's Postwar Activism in Bosnia-Herzegovina: A Human Rights Approach to Peacebuilding and Reconciliation through Liminal Space Edin Ibrahimefendic and Randal Joy Thompson	143
10.	Climate Justice: Building Opportunities for Women's Participation and Leadership in the Climate Change Regime Douglas de Castro	161

Contents xiii

11.	Toxic to Transformational Leadership: Peace, Reconciliation, and Social Justice as the Paradigm	
	Lorraine Stefani	177
12.	Bosnia and Herzegovina: Upstanders and Moral Obedience Bruce C. Pascoe	193
13.	The Leadership of the Vicariate of Solidarity during the Dictatorship in Chile (1973–1990) Fátima Esther Martínez Mejía and Nelson Andrés Ortiz Villalobos	207
	PART IV: PEACEBUILDING	
14.	Peace Leadership for Sustainable Change: Lessons from Women PeaceMakers Whitney McIntyre Miller and Miznah Omair Alomair	227
1.5	,	22/
15.	Beyond <i>Ubuntu</i> : What the World Can Learn about Building Community from Africa Lyndon Rego, Katleho Mohono and Gavin Michael Peter	245
		243
16.	Engaging Survivors of Conflict-related Sexual Violence in Social Movements: The Case for Reparations	
	Malini Laxminarayan and Benjamin Dürr	263
17.	Conflict Management in Extractive Industries in Indonesia: Leaders—Followers Dynamic to Achieve Perceived Social Justice in Communities	
	Josephine R. Marieta, Bagus Takwin and Corina D. Riantoputra	279
Epilog	gue: Democratizing Leadership: Pre-conflict Preventative Peacebuilding Mike Klein	295
Index		305

ABOUT THE CONTRIBUTORS

Miznah Omair Alomair, PhD, obtained her doctorate degree in Education, with an emphasis on Leadership Studies, from Chapman University in California. She focuses her research on the areas of leadership and leadership development of women and youth in the Gulf Cooperation Council states, with particular focus on the context of Saudi Arabia.

Ambassador Rick Barton is the author of *Peace Works: America's Unifying Role in A Turbulent World*; now Senior Fellow at the Woodrow Wilson School @ Princeton; former Assistant Secretary of State and founder within the US State Department of the Bureau for Conflict and Stabilization Operations; US Ambassador to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations; Co-director for the Center for Strategic and International Studies; Board Member: Alliance for Peacebuilding and the Institute for Sustainable Communities.

Aldo Boitano de Moras has 25 years of experience in top management, technological, educational, marketing, and sales positions with a strong leadership and team work emphasis. He received a Bachelor's and Master's in Engineering in December 1992 (Universidad de Chile) and an MBA in December 2006 (University of North Carolina-Charlotte Belk School of Business). He recently finished his first year of a doctoral program in Organizational Leadership at Pepperdine University. Aldo has broad international experience and is a world-class mountaineer and an active philanthropist. As a seasoned lecturer to companies and world forums, he has taught in the United states at Wharton and UNCC and in Chile in International Business, Leadership, and Building High Performance teams. Aldo serves on the board of Pleiades and the International Leadership Association and acts as an honorary "Ambassador" of "Hay Mujeres" a women leader in Latin-American association.

Sylvester B. Maphosa, a Fulbright S-I-R Fellow alumni, is a Chief Research Specialist and Head, Governance, Peace and Security, Africa Institute of South Africa, in the Human Sciences Research Council, Pretoria, South Africa. He is also an Adjunct Professor, University of Venda.

Douglas de Castro is the Visiting Scholar in the Foundation for Law and International Affairs (USA). Post-doc in International Economic Law – FGV Săo Paulo Law School; PhD in Political Science; and Master of Law, University of Săo Paulo; LL.M. in International Law, BYU-J. Reuben Clark Law School; Professor of International Law and Relations.

Sarah Chace is an Assistant Professor of Leadership Studies at Christopher Newport University. She has studied, taught, and conducted research on leadership for nearly 20 years, working extensively with the Adaptive Leadership framework, as well as various constructs of group relations incorporated within this framework. Professor Chace recently published a book with Routledge: Advancing the Development of Urban School Superintendents Through Adaptive Leadership.

Ira Chaleff is the Visiting Leadership Scholar at the Møller Institute, Churchill College, University of Cambridge in England. He is the founder of the International Leadership Association Followership Learning Community, author of the book *The Courageous Follower*, and co-facilitator of the Northern Shenandoah Valley chapter of "Coming To The Table."

Douglas Cremer, PhD, Professor of History and Interdisciplinary Studies at Woodbury University in Burbank, California, studies religious social and political engagement, religious and political violence, and philosophical and theological reflections on these issues. He also serves as an ordained permanent deacon in the Archdiocese of Los Angeles.

Benjamin Dürr is an International Lawyer and Policy Expert. He has experience as a policymaker in government and worked at the Dr. Denis Mukwege Foundation of the Congolese Nobel Peace laureate on advocacy and communications strategies against conflict-related sexual violence. As an award-winning journalist, he reported from ten African countries and wrote extensively about conflicts, peace, and humanitarian affairs. He studied political science and diplomacy at the London School of Economics (LSE) and holds an LL.M. in international law from the United Nations Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute (UNICRI) in Turin, Italy.

About the Contributors xvii

Vanessa Alexandra Hernández Soto is an International Criminal Lawyer with a special interest and expertise in international criminal law, human rights law, and international humanitarian law, with years of experience in the judicial and criminal field domestically and internationally. She holds an advanced LL.M in Public International Law, specialization in International Criminal Law from Leiden University, The Netherlands, a Law degree from the Pontifical Catholic University of Chile, and is a member of the International Criminal Court Bar Association. She was worked on a wide range of human rights and international criminal law issues at the International Criminal Court Chambers and the Office of Public Counsel for Victims, United Nations Mechanism for International Criminal Tribunals, United Nations OHCHR, and Oxford Reports, Oxford University Press. Vanessa is currently working at Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights in Geneva, Switzerland, and as a Senior Editorial Reviewer at the *Groningen Journal of International Law* at the University of Groningen, The Netherlands.

Edin Ibrahimefendic is an Attorney at the Institution of Human Rights Ombudsman of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Sarajevo. A popular speaker at conferences, he focuses on the promotion and protection of human rights, rule of law, and good governance. His publications include "The Cellist of Sarajevo," a chapter in *Grassroots Leadership and the Arts for Social Change* (2017). He graduated from the Law Faculty of Sarajevo.

Chantal Marie Ingabire works as a Senior Researcher at Community-Based Sociotherapy program in Rwanda. She holds a master's degree in Medical Anthropology from the University of Amsterdam and a PhD from Maastricht University, the Netherlands. She has coordinated various programs and research projects with a particular focus on health, social, and behavioral aspects. She is interested in exploring the interlinkage between mental health, psychosocial support, and peacebuilding processes in postgenocide Rwanda with a particular emphasis on youth. She is involved in a research exploring the mechanisms of intergenerational transmission of memories and its impact on second generation. She has authored various scientific publications.

Alphonse Keasley, Jr serves as the Associate Vice Chancellor in the Office of Diversity, Equity and Community Engagement (ODECE) at the University of Colorado Boulder. He is also a Visiting Scholar at the Africa Institute of

South Africa, a division of the Human Sciences Research Center, in Pretoria, South Africa.

Mike Klein, Ed.D, is an Associate Professor in the Department of Justice and Peace Studies at the University of St Thomas. He teaches undergraduate courses on leadership for social justice, qualitative research, and art for social change; and graduate courses on social justice pedagogy, critical education in social movements, and the pedagogy of Paulo Freire. His research, publishing, and consulting focus on democratizing leadership, intersections of art and social justice, and peacebuilding. He develops the agency of students and communities to transform social structures and advance social justice.

Malini Laxminarayan, PhD, currently works as a Program Officer at The Mukwege Foundation, where she coordinates SEMA: The Global Network for Victims and Survivors to End Wartime Sexual Violence. She also teaches Human Rights at the University of Amsterdam. Her research areas include victimology, transitional justice, survivor empowerment and access to justice, primarily from a socio-legal perspective.

Lisa Liberatore Maracine holds a Master's in Public Diplomacy from the University of Southern California and is a current PhD candidate in Global Leadership & Change at Pepperdine University. Her work centers on the intersection between business, government, and education to create sustainable social enterprise for women's empowerment.

Sandra Marić, CWWPP's Deputy CEO, has worked extensively with children and young people. She has been with the Coalition for Work with Psycho-Trauma & Peace (CWWPP) since 2006.

Josephine R. Marieta is a Lecturer at the Faculty of Psychology, Universitas Indonesia, and Universitas Pertahanan, Indonesia. Currently, he is completing a doctoral program at the Faculty of Psychology, Universitas Indonesia. She also became a consultant at companies in the field of Community Development and Conflict Reconciliation.

Fátima Esther Martínez Mejía holds a Master's degree in Latin American Studies and Law degree from the Autonomous University of the State of Mexico. Her line of research focuses on human rights and transitional justice. In 2016, she developed as a Visiting Researcher at the Institute of Advanced Studies of the University of Santiago de Chile.

Whitney McIntyre Miller, PhD, is an Associate Professor of Leadership Studies at Chapman University who centers her scholarship on peace leadership and community development and leadership. She has experience in community and international development, refugee resettlement, nonviolence, and elections monitoring. She has served as the co-convener of the International Leadership Association's Peace Leadership Affinity Group and as a Community Development Society board member.

Katleho Mohono is a leadership development facilitator, coach, and community builder with over seven years of experience in youth leadership development, corporate education, coaching and training. A founding member of the African Leadership University, Katleho helped shape the culture and leadership development ethos of the institution.

Ziyana Mohamed Nazeemudeen is a Lecturer at the Faculty of Law, University of Colombo and PhD candidate at the School of Law, University of Aberdeen. Her major research interests are in the field of private international law and human rights concerns in cross border disputes.

Nelson Andrés Ortiz Villalobos holds a law degree from the Pontifical Catholic University of Chile and currently develops as a coordinator of legislative advisors in "Centro Democracia y Comunidad."

Bruce C. Pascoe, principal of Bizthinking, is a leadership and personal development consultant in Brisbane, Australia. He has worked in business, taught at Queensland University of Technology's School of Management, and spent 12 years in the United Arab Emirates, developing and teaching courses in Management and Leadership for Arab students.

Gavin Michael Peter joined the African Leadership Group as an inaugural faculty member in 2008 and has enjoyed working with all areas of the group as a community and culture builder. He is passionate about Africa, and building communities, using communication to encourage and strengthen connections.

Lyndon Rego consults, teaches, writes, and speaks at the intersection of leadership, innovation, and change. He has worked in Asia, the Americas, and Africa on individual, organization, and community transformation efforts. At the African Leadership University, he was the founding director of the Center for Entrepreneurial Leadership.

Corina D. Riantoputra gained her doctoral degree from University of New South Wales, Australia. Currently, she serves as an Associate Professor at the Faculty of Psychology, Universitas Indonesia. She utilizes her research in the area of leadership, diversity, and proactivity to bring betterment for individuals, organizations, and societies.

Annemiek Richters is Emeritus Professor in culture, health and illness (Leiden University Medical Center) and a staff member of the Amsterdam School for Social Science Research (University of Amsterdam), the Netherlands. From 2005 onward, she has been affiliated with community-based sociotherapy Rwanda, contributing in particular to its research.

H. Eric Schockman a Professor of Politics and International Relations and Coordinator of Humanities and the Center for Leadership at Woodbury University. He also teaches in the MPA program at CSU Northridge, and the PhD program in Global Leadership and Change at Pepperdine University. A public policy expert Schockman previously served as Associate Dean and Associate Adjunct Professor at the Sol Price School of Public Policy at the University of Southern California. He is the President and the founder of the Global Hunger Foundation, dedicated to helping women in the developing world brake the chains of poverty by funding projects designed to provide sustainable development and organic farming. He served as the CEO and the President of a prestigious international anti-hunger organization for over a decade pumping some \$60 million in grants into the field.

Lorraine Stefani is a Professor Emerita, University of Auckland, New Zealand, and an independent higher education consultant and leadership coach. Her 2017 edited book *Inclusive Leadership in Higher Education: International Perspectives and Approaches* includes chapters from colleagues in Saudi Arabia, Hong Kong, Canada, South Africa, the USA and the UK, reflecting the global reach of her work. Her research focus is new models for building leadership capacity and capability in complex organizations.

Patrick Sweet is the Co-director of the Geneva Leadership Alliance. He was raised in the industrial Midwest of the USA and immigrated to Sweden where he lives with his spouse and two children. His education, research, and practice experience spreads across North America and Europe, and most economic sectors (public, private, civil, military, government, and transnational).

About the Contributors xxi

Bagus Takwin is an Associate Professor at the Faculty of Psychology Universitas Indonesia. He gained his doctoral degree from Faculty of Psychology, Universitas Indonesia. He utilizes his research in the area of self and identity, philosophy of psychology, well-being, and positive institutions.

Charles David Tauber, MD, CEO, Coalition for Work with Psychotrauma and Peace (CWWPP), has worked with traumatized people since 1988. He has worked with peace processes and non-governmental organizations since 1966.

Randal Joy Thompson is a scholar-practitioner who served as a Foreign Service Officer in international development. She recently edited the award-winning book *Leadership and Power in International Development:* Navigating the Intersections of Gender, Culture, Context, and Sustainability. She has published several chapters in other ILA volumes as well as articles in academic journals.

FORFWORD

Setting out to make the world more peaceful is ambitious. The work is hard. When neighbors start to kill neighbors, the fabric of a society is shredded. War mongers, spoilers, historic, and perverted arguments hover everywhere — resisting change, insisting on familiar and destructive paths. Oftentimes, the institutions that might help are misaligned. Success is rare.

When I started working on Bosnia, Rwanda, Haiti, and Angola in the 1990s, a wise boss cautioned that we should approach these places as "venture capitalists." Lacking experience in both peacebuilding and high-level investment, I took that to mean several things: high risk; open to new ideas; early and catalytic funding; unconventional partnerships; and accepting of the occasional positive results with a big payoff. That mindset allowed us to accept long odds and minimize the feeling of failure.

A favorite phrase became a staple: "If it works, it is a precedent; if not, it was an experiment." In over 40 war-torn places in the next 25 years, working for the United States, the United Nations, and as a scholar/practitioner, I felt that we had the license to find the local people, listen to their stories and voices, encourage them to pursue their own creative paths, and promote hope and trust. With that attitude, we pursued fresh approaches and built original offices, bureaus, and strategic relationships. We began to address the "gap" between humanitarian response and development assistance, always keeping "people first."

Taking on the big ideas of global peace expansion in a book is also ambitious. As a practitioner and a student, I am delighted that the editors have seized upon: leadership and followership; reconciliation; international law and social justice; and peacebuilding. As a reader, I welcome the mix of high principles and practical examples. As a recent author, I appreciate the rigor and persistence required.

From the outset, this volume establishes several fundamental truths. There is a broad recognition that complex crises and effective peacebuilding xxiv Foreword

require inclusive and interdisciplinary approaches; that a first rule of leadership is to have followers — for more than just a minute; and that colonization and paternalism scar societies for decades.

Modern antidotes are offered. Building trust, advocating, and speaking out, and embracing others are the grounding. "Democratic and inclusive" leadership is defined as "based on a leader's behavior and performance" and not limited by tradition or history. "Followership is a new means to decolonizing leadership." Women, youth, and the gender oppressed are seen as promising innovators and change agents.

Throughout the book there is a disruptive tone but with a vision, a plan, and a follow-thru — not for the sake of an ideology but with a broader ambition: to make us more effective in the growth of peace. Anchoring those practical thoughts is the wisdom of prior leaders and followers.

"Transformational leadership occurs when one or more persons engage with others in such a way that leaders and followers raise one another to higher levels of motivation and morality", is the foundational thought of James MacGregor Burns.

Ira Chalaff's concept of *courageous followership* is cited: "assuming responsibility while also serving others, challenging leadership while also participating in transformation, and taking moral action while also speaking directly to the hierarchy."

Leadership is described "as a fluid process of 'stepping up and stepping back' [...] which implicitly calls for a holding environment, speaks to the question of how to encourage people to access their innate power, as distinct from 'empowering' them" from without.

Addressing genocide, mass suffering, and structural bigotry, we are told to "look the beast in the eye." Without that necessary step:

it is reasonable to speculate that racism will continue to erupt in episodes of both micro and macro-aggression. The boundaries of an intentional holding environment such as a sanctioned arena for truth-telling may be the only way out of this dilemma.

From the Geneva Leadership Alliance (GLA), we learn that there is a traditional over emphasis on "individual leader-centered competencies, values, behaviors to the neglect of common, collective practices required to address tensions between groups, tribes, regimes." In the search for "common self-evident humanity [...] there is a growing recognition of diversity (often

Foreword xxv

compensating for traditional, core- or unicultural dominance)." The authors refer to

the paradox of commonality that emerges from diversity [...]. When family, security, stability, community bonding, justice, equity, religious freedom, etc., become aspirational due to existential threat, we also know these common human values provide the core of community re-building, reconciliation, and rejuvenation [...].

From their years of leadership training, GLA recognizes:

People and communities under stress lose sight of these; yet, bringing them back into focus, provides social cohesion to reconstruct shared humanity. Desire for self- and interpersonal respect is universal. Everyone, in every collective, generation, tribe or culture values respect — we just define and express it in different ways. Trust is essential. By and large, trust is valued at every level. Polarization is powerful. The destructive power of polarization is easily negatively leveraged under stress, while leveraging polarity as a positive collaborative tactic is virtually absent.

"Leadership's ontology is mainly person-centered. Leading as a set of learned 'practices' is rarely separated from the concept of leader," the GLA concludes.

Leaders are often seen as special and a scarce resource. Collective capability to lead is intuitively understood, but rarely developed. Integrity is desired to be a pre-requisite for power. Corruption becomes prevalent the more that power is separated from integrity, and the loss of integrity in leaders and institutions undermines the realization of most all of the points above.

This book invites "us to pay greater attention to the roles of those who with little or no formal authority initiate, give momentum and deeply influence critical changes in their communities."

When success appears in peacebuilding, it is most often due to "bottom up, community led" efforts. This book suggests that we all have a broader responsibility to play a role. It also makes clear that "history matters." Humility is indispensable.

xxvi

These pages brim with a greater wisdom applied to real life cases, from Rwanda, South Africa, and Bosnia to Sri Lanka, Uganda, and beyond. The authors of each chapter are expansive in their thinking and methods, using film and art, or whatever is available to empower women and others as they address their grim post-war realities, the threat of climate change, or the dagger of oppression.

A survey conducted in 2008 by the Pew Research Center, "A Paradox in Public Attitudes Men or Women: Who's the Better Leader?" is cited as we seek to improve our performance in global climate negotiations. Of eight important leadership traits in the public arena:

women ranked higher than men in honesty, intelligence, compassion, creativity, and outgoingness. Thus, the concepts that are lacking in the international climate regime are exactly the ones present in the leadership traits of the women in both government and civil society dimensions.

The book offers numerous revelations and insights as it seeks to transform perspectives, definitions, rulemaking, and long-held attitudes with inclusive, expansive, and democratic thoughts. My own experience confirms this necessity.

Ambassador Rick Barton was the first Assistant Secretary of State for Conflict and Stabilization Operations, a former U.S. Ambassador, a past UN Deputy High Commissioner for Refugees, a Senior Advisor and Co-Director at the Center for Strategic and International Studies and the founding Director of USAID's Office of Transition Initiatives. He is a Lecturer at the Woodrow Wilson School and Co-Director of Princeton University's Scholars in the Nation's Service Initiative. His book, *Peace Works – America's Unifying Role in a Turbulent World* (Rowman & Littlefield 2018) is in its third printing.

By Ambassador Rick Barton (ret.)